

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 TEL AV 00479 01 OF 02 111947Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
-----120504 111952Z /45

O 111901Z JAN 78
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 0519
INFO AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY AMMAN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY JIDDA IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 TEL AVIV 0479

EXDIS -- HANDLE AS NODIS

Z.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV, IS, EG, US, XF
SUBJECT: AGENDA FOR JERUSALEM MEETINGS

REF: A) STATE 5218, B) STATE 06679 (NOTAL)

1. MET WITH PRIME MINISTER BEGIN AND EVRON AT BEGIN'S RESIDENCE IN JERUSALEM AT 1730 JANUARY 11. MEETING WAS SET UP PREVIOUSLY ON ANOTHER SUBJECT, BUT I DECIDED TO USE OPPORTUNITY TO CARRY OUT INSTRUCTIONS IN REFS A AND B WITH RESPECT TO AGENDA FOR JERUSALEM MEETINGS. JUST BEFORE GOING INTO MEETING, STERNER'S TELEPHONE MESSAGE WAS RELAYED TO ME THROUGH CONGEN JERUSALEM TO EFFECT THAT EILTS HAD REPORTED SADAT FOUND THE ISRAELI COUNTERPROPOSALS FOR THE AGENDA "TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE," BUT THAT HE COULD "GO ALONG" WITH THE U.S. PROPOSALS.

2. FOLLOWING CLOSELY TALKING POINTS IN PARA FIVE OF REF B AND PARAS THREE, FOUR, FIVE, AND SEVEN OF REF A, I EXPLAINED REASONING BEHIND OUR BELIEF THAT TIME PRESSURES REQUIRED US TO PUT FORWARD OUR OWN NEUTRAL

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 TEL AV 00479 01 OF 02 111947Z

SUGGESTIONS FOR AGENDA AT THIS POINT. I TOLD BEGIN THAT I HAD JUST HAD WORD THAT SADAT WAS UNABLE TO ACCEPT DAYAN'S COUNTERPROPOSALS, AND THAT IN VIEW OF SHORTAGE OF TIME AMBASSADOR EILTS HAD BEEN AUTHORIZED TO PUT OUR PROPOSED COMPROMISE AGENDA TO HIM. I WENT ON TO SAY THAT SADAT'S INITIAL REACTION WAS APPARENTLY FAVORABLE. I THEN HANDED BEGIN A COPY OF

OUR THREE POINT PROPOSED AGENDA, TAKEN FROM PARA THREE (A, B, AND C) OF REF A. PARA 3. BEGIN WAS CLEARLY STUNG. HE READ THE PROPOSALS QUICKLY, STARTED TO REACT VIGOROUSLY AND THEN CAUGHT HIMSELF. HE SAID THAT FIRST OF ALL HE WAS "VERY UNHAPPY" THAT WE HAD GIVEN THIS PROPOSAL TO SADAT FIRST AND THAT SINCE HE HAD APPARENTLY ACCEPTED IT, ISRAEL WAS IN A POSITION OF DISAGREEING WITH BOTH OF US. I POINTED OUT THAT THE SECRETARY HAD OUTLINED IT EARLIER TO SIMCHA DINITZ IN WASHINGTON BEFORE IT WAS GIVEN TO SADAT; BEGIN'S REACTION WAS INTERESTING. HE SAID "WELL IT'S ONE THING TO GIVE IT TO SIMCHA, IT'S ANOTHER TO GIVE IT TO A SADAT*"

4. BEGIN SAID FLATLY THAT HE CANNOT ACCEPT OUR DRAFT. HE HAS A NUMBER OF PROBLEMS WITH IT, BUT HE WOULD NEED TO DISCUSS IT WITH DAYAN BEFORE GIVING ANY FORMAL RESPONSE. THIS WOULD MEAN WE WOULD NOT HAVE THEIR RESPONSE UNTIL FRIDAY AFTERNOON, SINCE DAYAN DOES NOT RETURN UNTIL LATE THURSDAY NIGHT.

5. I THEN TRIED TO DRAW HIM OUT ON HIS DIFFICULTIES WITH OUR DRAFT, BEYOND THE FACT THAT WE HAD GOTTEN SADAT'S APPROVAL BEFORE SHOWING IT TO HIM. MAKING CLEAR THAT HE WAS SPEAKING "UNOFFICIALLY" UNTIL HE HAD TALKED TO DAYAN, HE THEN WENT THROUGH A LENGTHY "LOGICAL EXERCISE" WITH ME IN TAKING APART THE LANGUAGE.
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 TEL AV 00479 01 OF 02 111947Z

HIS ESSENTIAL POINTS ARE TWO IN NUMBER: A. WE HAVE USE SOME OF THE LANGUAGE OF 242 FOR THE FIRST AGENDA ITEM, BUT HAVE REVERSED THE LANGUAGE IN KEY PLACES AND HAVE ADDED THE ELEMENT OF "A JUST SOLUTION OF THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM" WHICH DOES NOT APPEAR AT ALL IN 242. IF WE WERE GOING TO USE 242 -,AND THE ELEMENTS THEREFROM, IN BEGIN'S VIEW, WE HAVE TO USE THEM EXACTLY AS THEY APPEAR IN THE RESOLUTION--WHICH MEANS A CONSIDERABLE DIFFERENCE FROM OUR TEXT.

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 TEL AV 00479 02 OF 02 111959Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W

-----120671 112006Z /42

O 111901Z JAN 78

FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 0520

INFO AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY AMMAN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY JIDDA IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 TEL AVIV 0479

EXDIS -- HANDLE AS NODIS

5. THE PHRASE "A SOLUTION OF THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM IN ALL ITS ASPECTS" REMAINS AS UNACCEPTABLE TO BEGIN NOW AS IT DID DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN DAYAN, PRESIDENT CARTER AND THE SECRETARY IN NEW YORK IN OCTOBER. HE WILL NOT ACCEPT LANGUAGE WHICH LUMPS TOGETHER, AS THIS DOES, THE PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH PALESTINIANS LIVING ELSEWHERE IN THE REGION (THE REFUGEE PROBLEM) WITH THE PROBLEM OF THE PALESTINIAN ARABS LIVING IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA. THE KIND OF LANGUAGE WHICH HE WOULD INSIST ON FOR AGENDA ITEM TWO WOULD BE SOMETHING LIKE "THE GUIDELINES FOR NEGOTIATION OF A SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF THE PALESTINIAN ARABS RESIDENT IN JUDEA, SAMARIA, AND GAZA." (OR I THINK IN EXTREMIS HE MIGHT ACCEPT "RESIDENT IN THE WEST BANK AND THE GAZA DISTRICT.")

6. HE HAD NO PROBLEM WITH THE THIRD OF OUR AGENDA ITEMS. BUT HE POINTED OUT THAT THE REFERENCE HERE TO RESOLUTION 242 SEEMS BOTH REDUNDANT AND CONTRADICTORY WITH THE WAY IN WHICH AGENDA ITEM ONE IS FRAMED.

7. THERE THEN ENSUED A LENGTHY AND SOMEWHAT PHILOSOPHICAL
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 TEL AV 00479 02 OF 02 111959Z

DISCUSSION OF HOW ONE FRAMES AGENDAS, WITH LARGE ELEMENTS OF ANNOYANCE EVIDENT THAT WE HAVE DEVIATED FROM THE PRECISE LANGUAGE OF THE U.S.-ISRAELI WORKING PAPER NEGOTIATED BY DAYAN IN OCTOBER ON POINTS WHERE ITS LANGUAGE WOULD BE APPROPRIATE. BEGIN SAID AGAIN SEVERAL TIMES THAT HE WOULD NOT ACCEPT OUR AGENDA AND THAT HE WOULD GIVE US HIS FORMAL REACTIONS ONLY AFTER DAYAN RETURNED.

8. COMMENT: THIS WAS BEGIN AT HIS MOST LEGALISTIC AND MOST TYPICAL IN NEGOTIATING STYLE. HIS MOOD HAD OBVIOUSLY NOT BEEN IMPROVED BY THE SUBJECT WE DISCUSSED

JUST BEFORE WE REACHED THIS ONE (PROBLEM OF ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS). BUT HE DID MAKE THE POINT THAT HE PRIDED HIMSELF ON HAVING ABOUT 40 YEARS EXPERIENCE IN WORKING ON AGENDAS FOR VARIOUS KINDS OF MEETINGS. AND HE SAW IMMEDIATELY , HE SAID, OUR PROPOSALS WERE "INTENDED TO MAKE THE EGYPTIANS HAPPY," BUT THEY WERE UNACCEPTABLE IN SEVERAL IMPORTANT ELEMENTS TO HIM.

9. I SUGGESTED AT ONE POINT THAT IN ORDER TO AVOID THIS WHOLE PROCESS BOGGING DOWN INTERMINABLY AND TAKING THE TIME OF THE CONFERENCE NEXT WEEK, PERHAPS WE MIGHT EVENTUALLY HAVE TO COME BACK TO SOMETHING VERY BLAND AND SIMPLE. MAKING CLEAR THAT IT WAS TOTALLY MY OWN OFF THE CUFF THOUGHT, I ASKED HOW HE WOULD REACT TO AN AGENDA WHICH WAS LIMITED TO THE FOLLOWING:

A. A DECLARATION OF THE PRINCIPLES WHICH WOULD GOVERN THE NEGOTIATION OF PEACE TREATIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST;
B. THE GUIDELINES FOR NEGOTIATIONS; AND
C. THE ELEMENTS OF THE PEACE TREATIES BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS NEIGHBORS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLES WITH SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 TEL AV 00479 02 OF 02 111959Z

WITHOUT HESITATION HE SAID THAT IF THAT WERE PUT TO HIM OFFICIALLY HE WOULD ACCEPT IT AS A WAY AROUND AN IMPASSE. I MADE CLEAR AGAIN THAT I HAD ABSOLUTELY NO AUTHORITY TO DO SO, BUT WAS MERELY THINKING OUT LOUD IN LIGHT OF HIS REACTION TO OUR PROPOSAL. HOWEVER, I STRONGLY RECOMMEND IN THE INTERESTS OF GETTING THIS SHOW ON THE ROAD THAT THE DEPARTMENT AND AMBASSADOR EILTS THINK ABOUT WHETHER WE SHOULD NOT FALL BACK RIGHT NOW TO SOMETHING LIKE WHAT I HAVE OUTLINED ABOVE.

10. THE NEXT INSTALLMENT IN THIS DRAMA SO FAR AS BEGIN IS CONCERNED WILL TAKE PLACE LATE FRIDAY AFTERNOON WHEN I EXPECT TO MEET WITH HIM AND DAYAN BEFORE SUNDOWN. I WOULD LIKE TO HAVE WASHINGTON'S REACTION TO THE PRESENT STATE OF PLAY HERE AND TO MY FALLBACK SUGGESTION WELL BEFORE THAT MEETING.
LEWIS

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MEETING AGENDA, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, PEACE PLANS, NEGOTIATIONS, GOVERNMENT REACTIONS, CAT-B
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 11 jan 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978TELAV00479
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: n/a
Expiration:
Film Number: P840137-2209
Format: TEL
From: TEL AVIV
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780174/aaaackrn.tel
Line Count: 216
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 933f8be4-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: 78 STATE 5218, 78 STATE 6679
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 31 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3791200
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CHANGED> MCM 20040621
Subject: AGENDA FOR JERUSALEM MEETINGS
TAGS: PGOV, PBOR, PDEV, IS, EG, US, XF
To: STATE CAIRO MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/933f8be4-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014